

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

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[13] THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The
641 population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated
659 June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registra-
tion records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number
of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizen-
ship.

[66] The Order in question was published in connection with the elections
in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities dis-
agreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the
official document pending the holding of a general Census which will
determine the figures more precisely.

162 The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing
167 the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	Inhabitants.	Emigrants.	Total.
Maronites	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

166 The following are the estimated figures for the movement of popula-
tion in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	1932 Census.	End 1943.	Difference.	Percentage.
Sunni	179,667	225,594	45,927	31.1
Shi'ah	159,133	200,698	41,565	38.5
Druzes	56,297	71,711	15,414	38.0
Maronites	269,620	318,201	48,581	18.0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,956	6,911	12.5
Greek Orthodox	92,991	106,658	13,667	13.0

167 The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:
641 (a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

161 * Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed,
175 estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak
of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be
accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demo-
graphical statistics in the Lebanon.

GULICK: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest¹⁷ in the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon. [116]

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena. 121

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's suggestion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual." 128

Aff Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter. 621

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Munsif today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 39 have the head and others resident; 2 have the head and others in summer only. 166 464

From this and the population totals, it is clear that in terms of numbers, residence in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *sayfiyyi*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Bishmizziin about 1939 when 13.5 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Tannous, 1942, p. 67). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Févret (1950, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Juni appeared to be largely deserted in wintertime in 1951. Thoumin (1936, p. 189) says that in general automobilism has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1920's, but we cannot say how the situation in Munsif compares to that in other villages. [494]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers. 178 621

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munsif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33-49, for a general review of this period.) 722 621

When the war ended, the Munsifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States. 167 621

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country. 648 621

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munsif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271-72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon). 178 621 [166] [369]

433 The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types,
438 economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

178 1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the impor-
tation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

● [166] 3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in
[369] consequence of factors 1 and 2.

871 4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

433 The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munsif were brought about by
[211] the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In
this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67-68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulerrse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the spathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489-90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

177 We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts
178 in values among the Munsifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various
621 changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of tradi-
181 tional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munsifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

grants began to take place. During/67 the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the/66 country: Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1890-1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD ABOUT 1270)

Year	NUMBER		Total
	Male	Female	
1890	1	1	2
1925	1	1	2
1929	1	1	2
1933	2	6	8
1935	5	4	9
TOTAL	10	13	23

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who migrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

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166 The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 13.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Bishmizzeen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

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186 In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1939. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Deeb to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

"... When we reached Kaferhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Milky, his sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. . . . At Beirut, we were betrayed by these

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Household Head

5.1 Birthplace of head of household, Table 54

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The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and Aley. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (7%), Palestine (5%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question in present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure consists almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

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5.11 Citizenship of head of household, Table 55

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The permanency of residents is complicated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

5.21 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household, Tables 56, 57

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The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 39 & 45

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households shows a similar pattern of origin with a comparatively larger percentage coming from urban Lebanon. These figures, so far, remain unexplained as do figures indicating that thirty-seven percent of the sample claim mothers' origin in urban Lebanon as compared to thirty percent in rural regions. The trend to the city is there, but it does not seem to be solely a one way process. As in the case of mothers and fathers of heads of households so in heads of households and their spouses. A larger percentage of women seem to be city originated.

5.22 Children and grandchildren of head of household, Tables 58, 59

As might be expected, the percentage of native born Lebanese among the children is considerably higher than for the heads of households and their parents. Among grandchildren the native born figure includes over nine-tenths of the group. Similarly, there is a trend toward urban birth among the children which reaches its peak among grandchildren. A detailed breakdown of the children of the heads of households is shown in the table.

5.23 Female head of household or wife of household head, Table 60

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About the same percent of women as men are Lebanese by birth and approximately the same numbers are urban or rural in origin, the women being slightly more urban. The difference is not statistically significant. Similar proportions hold for origin in other Arab countries and in Turkey. These figures are for women

146 heads of households and wives of household
147 heads.

5.24 Other members of household,
Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 Number of children away from home,
Table 66

146 The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 Length of time at present address,
Table 67

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427 For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1940) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

5.42 Previous location of household,
Table 68

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The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with over eighty-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

[167]

5.43 Length of time at previous address,
Table 69

Here again the largest group, thirty-two percent were in residence at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest incidence is between one and three years. The no answer category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

5.44 Number of times moved in last ten years,
Table 70

Forty-four percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been in residence in their present household for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constitute slightly over one percent.

5.5 Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71

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Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (61 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (22 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their free responses

● 166 were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

5.61 ⁵²⁸Incidence of summer migration to vil-
221 lages, Table 72

One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the summer vacationists.

5.62 Month of migration to villages, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

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* See Table 71 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

** See Table 72 — Summer migration to villages.

Table 35
of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	%
Total	7520	100.00	
Lebanon	1810	23.96	23.96
Syria	111	1.48	1.48
Palestine	87	1.15	1.15
Iran	6	0.81	
Yemen	3	0.16	
Turkey	9	0.12	
Iraq	7	0.09	
Egypt	13	0.17	
England	9	0.12	
U.S.A.	13	0.17	
France	23	1.20	
Other Europe	19	0.25	
Other Africa	3	0.16	
Other Asia	7	0.09	
South America	3	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

100% COTTON 100% COTTON 100% COTTON 100% COTTON 100% COTTON

7. 45 (a)

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Table 56
Birthplace of Father of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1922	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	500	26.02	.010
Urban Lebanon	686	35.69	.011
Syria	175	9.11	.006
Palestine	84	4.37	.004
Iraq	17	0.89	
Jordan	2	0.10	
Turkey	258	13.42	.008
Iran	2	0.10	
Egypt	17	0.89	
England	4	0.21	
U.S.A.	14	0.73	
France	14	0.73	
Other Europe	22	1.06	
Other Africa	10	0.52	
Other Asia	12	0.62	
South America	2	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

Table 57
Birthplace of Mother of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1911	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	568	29.72	.010
Urban Lebanon	700	37.10	.011
Syria	181	9.47	.007
Palestine	76	3.98	.004
Iraq	11	0.58	
Jordan	2	0.11	
Turkey	299	15.65	.008
Iran	1	0.05	
Egypt	10	0.52	
England	4	0.21	
U.S.A.	13	0.68	
France	12	0.63	
Other Europe	36	1.88	
Other Africa	10	0.52	
Other Asia	12	0.63	
South America	2	0.11	
Other	5	0.26	

12. Churchill 8-6 (1903) 1904 MLI Lebanon MLI

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Table 58

Birthplace of Children of Head of Household

Country	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1243	100.00	961	100.00
Rural Lebanon	491	9.68	.004	149	10.16	121	9.73	90	9.36
Urban Lebanon	4018	79.23	.005	1112	75.80	977	78.60	772	80.33
Other Arab State	431	8.50	.004	147	10.02	110	8.85	78	8.12
Europe	26	0.51		12	0.82	9	0.72	2	0.21
S. America	7	0.14		5	0.34	1	0.08	1	0.10
U.S.A.	4	0.08		3	0.20	1	0.08	—	—
Turkey	61	1.20	.001	31	2.11	14	1.13	12	1.25
Other	26	0.51		7	0.48	9	0.72	6	0.63
No Answer	7	0.14		1	0.07	1	0.08	—	—

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19, Churchill S-5 (1962) 1964 MLI Lebanon MLI

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4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
621	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
60	9.66	38	10.00	23	10.75	9	8.42	1	1.30
502	80.84	318	83.68	177	82.71	88	82.24	72	92.20
47	7.57	21	5.54	14	6.54	10	9.34	4	5.20
2	0.33	1	0.26	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	0.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	0.48	1	0.26	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	0.48	1	0.26	-	-	-	-	1	1.30

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12. Churchill 5-6 (1959), 1954, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964

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Table 59

Birthplace of Grandchildren
of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	5	4.40	
Urban Lebanon	196	86.80	.023
Other Arab State	10	4.40	
Europe	1	1.10	
South America	-	-	
U.S.A.	-	-	
Turkey	1	1.10	
Other	4	2.20	

Table 60

Birthplace of Female Head of Household
and Wife of Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1682	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	407	24.20	.010
Urban Lebanon	749	44.53	.012
Other Arab State	286	14.03	.008
Europe	50	2.97	.004
South America	15	0.89	
U.S.A.	13	0.77	
Turkey	196	11.65	.008
Other	6	0.37	
No Answer	10	0.59	

12: CUREHLL 5-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 61
Birthplace of Father-in-Law
of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
Rural Lebanon	—	—
Urban Lebanon	1	25.00
Other Arab State	2	50.00
Europe	—	—
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	1	25.00
Other	—	—

Table 62
Birthplace of Mother-in-Law
of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
Rural Lebanon	10	19.61
Urban Lebanon	18	35.29
Other Arab State	10	19.61
Europe	1	1.96
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	10	19.61
Other	—	—
No Answer	2	3.92

15: Chancery S-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 63
Birthplace of Siblings of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	95	26.53	.023
Urban Lebanon	197	55.03	.026
Other Arab State	49	13.69	.018
Europe	—	—	
South America	1	0.28	
U.S.A.	3	0.84	
Turkey	13	3.63	

Table 64
**Birthplace of Other Family Members
in Household**

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	54	18.75	.023
Urban Lebanon	168	58.33	.029
Other Arab State	42	14.58	.021
Europe	1	0.35	
South America	1	0.35	
U.S.A.	2	0.70	
Turkey	10	3.47	
Other	5	1.74	
No Answer	5	1.74	

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Table 65
Birthplace of Servants of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	595	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	347	58.32	.020
Urban Lebanon	95	15.97	.020
Other Arab State	86	14.45	.010
Europe	4	.67	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	15	2.52	
Other	1	.17	
No Answer	47	7.90	

Table 66
Number of Children Away From Home
Per Family

Number away	Number	Percent
Total	1903	100.00
One	204	10.71
Two	131	6.88
Three	73	3.84
Four or more	54	2.84
None	1441	75.72

$$\sigma_g^2 = .025$$

$$v = .060$$

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Table 71
Reasons for Moving to Beirut

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1868	100.00	
Economic reasons	690	36.94	.011
Political reasons	232	12.42	.008
Family reasons	67	3.59	.004
Liked better	8	0.32	
Other reasons	75	4.01	.004
Mixed reasons	6	0.32	
Question does not apply	792	42.40	

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Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the